PEACE NEWS

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BANNED BASLE CONFERENCE:

Protest brings Swiss explanation

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

THE banning of the "European Congress Against Atomic Weapons" by the Swiss Government was based on a law which forbids aliens on Swiss soil from making speeches which tell the Swiss people what "they should do or not do."

This information appears in a letter from the Swiss Embassy to Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the PPU, in reply to his protest about the banning of the Congress.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH

In reply, Stuart Morris wrote: "If there is to be complete freedom of thought and speech, people in Switzerland should not be under the disadvantage of being unable to hear what speakers from other countries have to say about current international problems of first-class importance to them.

"Just as we have always regretted any attempt to restrict freedom of speech in totalitarian countries, we cannot but regret what seems to us to be somewhat similar action on the part of a democracy like Switzerland.

"If we are really anxious that the truth should be known and prevail, it surely is important to give people every opportunity of trying to arrive at the truth and to have sufficient confidence in them to believe that they will not be misled by inaccurate propaganda."

Protest action challenges

ROCKET BASE SPEED-UP

THE Government is rushing the construction of the rocket base at RAF Mepal near Ely, Cambridge. Construction workers are doing overtime and Sunday work. There is a general atmosphere of great urgency about the work.

The Government's action is not going unopposed. The first on-the-spot protest against the construction of missile bases in Britain has been arranged by the Cambridge City Labour Party and Trades Council. It will take place on Sunday, August 24.

The sponsors have the support of other constituency parties in the area and of the Eastern Regional Council of Labour.

The protest will take the form of a march from Ely to the base, where a demonstration will be held. The speakers at the demonstration will be Arthur Skeffington, MP, a member of the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party, John Horner, General Secretary of the Fire Brigades Union, and the Labour prospective Parliamentary candidates for the Cambridge City, Huntingdon, and Cambridgeshire constituencies.

In a letter to Peace News this week the prospective candidates wrote "We sincerely hope that all who feel concern at the gathering momentum of the nuclear arms race will actively welcome the initiative of the Constituency Labour Parties and Trade Unions in East Anglia in organising the first-on-the-spot protest against the precipitate establishment of missile bases in this country.

March from Ely

"The march to Mepal is in support of the joint declaration by the Labour Party and the TUC that no physical steps should be taken to set up missile bases before a fresh attempt has been made to negotiate with Russia. Many people would doubtless go further, but we hope that this will not prevent them from joining us on the road to Mepal."

The rendezvous for the protest is Barton Square, Ely, at 1.45 p.m. A meeting will be held in the Square at 2 p.m. and the march will begin at 2.30 p.m. The meeting outside the base will take place at approximately 5 p.m.

It was hoped to hold the Ely meeting on Palace Green in front of the Cathedral. The Ely Urban District Council has, however, taken an obstructive attitude to the protest. It has refused permission for Palace Green to be used on the grounds that there is a regulation which forbids meetings on Palace Green. Permission was also refused for the use of two other places on the grounds that they were car-parks.

The secretary of the protest says that Barton Square is not an ideal place to hold a meeting. He hopes that any inadequacies will only serve to emphasise the attitude of the Ely UDC.



The meal table provides opportunity for discussion in the caravan at the picketers' Aldermaston camp. From the left are: Mary Harrison, of Salisbury; April Carter, Secretary of the Direct Action Committee; Carol Taylor, a member of the Pacifist Youth Action Group (London). On the extreme right is Inez Randall, of Reading. *Austin Underwood*

Protest films at Aldermaston

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

THE nine-week picket at Aldermaston was due to take a new initiative last night (Thursday) with the showing of films in the locality of the atomic weapons plant.

The films, which will be shown at many local halls with speakers in the next few weeks, include "Shadow of Hiroshima" and a cartoon film, "Short Vision."

The film shows are the latest development in an intensive campaign in the area of Reading, Newbury and Basingstoke to awaken local residents to the meaning of the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment at Aldermaston.

Meanwhile the picket at the gates of the weapons plant has entered its fourth week. The aim is to persuade at least one worker to abandon his job there.

People ready to talk

"We have been canvassing the local estates," April Carter, the Secretary of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, which is sponsoring the project, told Peace News on Tuesday. "This means door-knocking from door to door. We find most people very ready to talk—two of us were invited into one home for coffee."

"One man told Pat Arrowsmith and myself that he admired our persistence. He thought that many of the workers were with us, but there was the question of their bread and butter. He himself," continued April Carter with a smile, "claimed to have no conscience."

Some of the workers are meeting and talking privately with the project group, and a couple who work at the establishment had dinner at the camp this week.

The outdoor meetings continue in Reading every week-end. At one of them an 18-year-old schoolboy heckled, but later discussed the matter more fully with the speakers. Three days later he joined the picket line at the main gates of the weapons plant.

Last week-end there was also an open-air meeting at the picketers' camp, at which the Rev. Michael Scott introduced a discussion on non-violent resistance. Local supporters of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament also attended.

Local people have been very helpful. A Reading baker, Mr. Waring, cycles out nine miles to the picketers' camp, gives them free bread and takes part in the picket. Other people have given a trestle table and chairs, and the local Co-op. shop is very friendly.

Volunteers needed

"We could do with many more volunteers, of course," April Carter told Peace News. "We can't have too many. There is always the picketing, the leaflets for distribution, the canvassing and much else to be done."

Offers of help at Aldermaston should be sent to the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, 344 Seven Sisters Road, London, N.4 (STAmford Hill 7062). The project continues until September 22.

Labour-Tory alliance to retain conscription

By L. J. Cuming

Secretary No Conscription Council

OPPONENTS of conscription need to be very much on their guard at this time. The Government's decision to allow the National Service Act to run out at the end of this year, with conscription finally ending in 1962, is under fire from certain political quarters.

In the Defence debate of July 28 we had an unholy alliance of prominent Conservatives and Labour personalities united in urging the Government to reconsider their decision.

It must be pointed out that all those who argued for such a change protested that, like everybody else, they wanted to get rid of conscription. Always, of course, as and when it seemed "expedient" to do so.

Crossman's attitude

The Labour Peace Fellowship and the No Conscription Council have, separately of course, protested in the Press at Richard Crossman, MP's, attitude. He has been conducting a very strange campaign for a year or more, the object of which has been to alter the Labour Party's attitude on this matter.

Our people want to be rid of conscription. It is not a matter of ascertaining whether the nation's "commitments" or the rate of recruitment will allow conscription to end, but that *conscription must end* and commitments, etc., must be adjusted to that fact.

Extension opposed

In connection with the Labour Peace Fellowship's statement about Mr. Crossman's speech in the Defence debate, the secretary of the LPF writes: "The Labour Peace Fellowship recently stated that it viewed with apprehension the action of Mr. Richard Crossman, MP, in advocating in the House of Commons an extension of the National Service Act. Unfortunately, the letter forwarded to Mr. Crossman omitted the word "Act," which gave the statement a different meaning and resulted in Mr. Crossman's letter to the Manchester Guardian which implied that the Labour Peace Fellowship wilfully misunderstood him.

My apologies are due to Mr. Crossman for this error.

The Fellowship has always opposed conscription in all lands and would strongly oppose the extension of the National Service Act which lapses on December 31 this year."

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LETTERS

CND and trade unions

From Frank Allaun, MP.

WHAT next in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament?

There is little doubt in my mind that it is to win the support of that section of the community with power—if it wishes to use it—the organised working class. (That is, of course, in addition to the Campaign's present activities.)

The immediate task is to arrange for trade unions at workshop, branch and district committee level to hear speakers from the Campaign—preferably speakers with a TU background.

May I, in this connection, commend the latest step by the London Printers' Movement against the H-bomb. Recently, as an experiment, they organised a dinner-time meeting for print workers from "Reveillé" at the small Holborn Hall. They particularly invited those who had not heard or were critical of the case against the H-bomb.

They were gratified to find that 36, or roughly one in four, of the Operative Printers' chapel at "Reveillé" plus a few from other printing unions turned up in their overalls straight from the job. After a 20-minute opening there was the best half-hour of questions I've heard for a long time. There was a lively sale of pamphlets.

I understand that Brothers O'Brien and Leighton and other driving forces are now considering dinner-time meetings (midday or midnight) at the far larger newspapers.

I am also informed that the two largest chapels of the 42,000-strong National Society of Operative Printers have already carried resolutions demanding unilateral renunciation of the bomb.

This is surely the way to see the unions use their voting strength at TUC and Labour Party conferences in the right direction and also that there is a public campaign as well.—**FRANK ALLAUN, House of Commons, S.W.1.**

Pacifist youth group

A BRADFORD Section of the Pacifist Youth Action Group has been formed, and I appeal to PN readers in the vicinity to contact me in order to form an active group. **DAVID WARBURTON, 4 Carlton Walk, Saltaire, Yorks.**

RELIGIOUS FLASHPOINT

"For all I know it is within the Providence of God that the human race should destroy itself in this manner" . . . that is by universal nuclear massacre. **(Archbishop of Canterbury.)**

"If the Archbishop is right, what is Satan doing? Presumably leading the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (With acknowledgments to **"The New Statesman."**)

Could it be within the Providence of the God YOU believe in that the human race should destroy itself? If not, look at the case for a Pacifist Church.

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Reflections on Stockholm

By WILLIAM CARY Jnr.

THE 1,200 delegates and observers who met together at the Congress for Disarmament and International Co-operation in Stockholm from July 16-22 revealed a variety of political and economic points of view, but they were unanimous on two basic points:

(1) The peoples of the world—both in the countries with capitalist economies and in those which have changed to public ownership of the means of production, and in those which are still in a colonial status or have recently emerged from it—all are threatened with annihilation by a nuclear war.

(2) If peace is to be won, the means of winning it must include the winning of political and economic independence by peoples whose countries are still controlled by other nations.

Many Conservatives and Liberals alike in the West had this Congress all figured out in advance: they said it would be just another meeting "dominated by the Russians" or by "International Communism." Communists from the Soviet Union and various other countries were there, of course.

From 74 nations

But a solid fact to hold on to is that 74 nations—that is, almost all the nations in the world—were represented there. Most of these are capitalist or colonial or ex-colonial countries. Many delegates from these 74 countries are not Communists and follow no Communist line. To prejudge this 1958 Congress, or to take at face value the predictions or reports which one may have read in the Western Press, would be to miss the real nature and significance of this Congress.

It was a week of much more than formal speeches; it was a major opportunity for representatives from the 74 countries to get to know one another. Not only in the Eriksdalshalle, where the plenary sessions were held, but in the refreshment room adjoining it, on the street outside, in the special-interest group meetings in the school nearby, and in the three big dining rooms where most of the delegates had their meals old friends met and new friendships were made.

Delegates from African countries, some of whom had with difficulty left their homeland to attend the Congress and who risk imprisonment when they go back, sat down with Chinese, Japanese, Indians, Englishmen, Americans and others.

Probably nothing like this Congress has ever happened in Great Britain. Certainly nothing like it has ever happened in the United States.

Few from U.S.A.

One could wish that many more people from Great Britain and the United States, especially leaders in the peace movement, had attended. A few months ago an advertisement was published by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and by various local "Sane" committees in some American newspapers—an advertisement which included the following statement:

"There is no sacrifice that we are not prepared to make, nothing we will not do to create such a just peace for all peoples; none of the difference separating the governments of the world are as important as the membership of all peoples in the human family."

Good. But there were fewer delegates from the United States than from little Colombia, which had 10, and none of these American delegates represented any "Sane" committee nor indeed any sizeable peace organisation in the United States.

As for Great Britain, Canon L. John Collins, Chairman of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, said in a message he sent to the Congress:

"I am very sorry that I have been unable to find anyone to come to Stockholm as a representative."

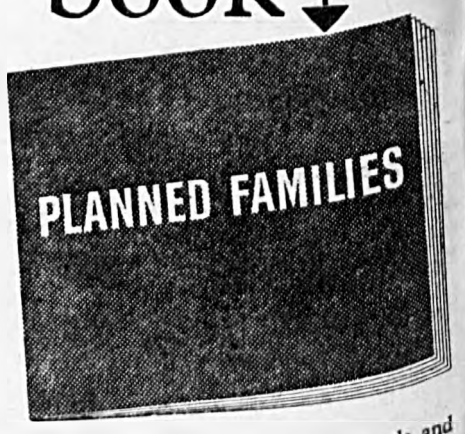
Why didn't American and British peace organisation leaders attend the Congress? Because "you can't trust Russia"? Have the United States and Great Britain given Russia reason to think that Russia can trust us?

One hears people say sometimes that the Russian and Chinese leaders pay little attention to public opinion (Hungary, Imré Nagy), either in their own countries or elsewhere; or that there is no democratic tradition in their heritage; or that they are warped in their judgments by cold-war pressures put upon them by capitalist countries; or that in socialism there is a built-in contradiction, namely, that when a government owns and plans almost everything, the people whose livelihood depends on their government jobs must be yes-men or face elimination. . . .

There is some truth in these assertions. Still, we must always keep in mind the *main* danger—nuclear war—and try in every way, including meeting with people from the Soviet Union and China, to reach some understanding, to have some effect for a sane policy, some basis for negotiation. To sit at home, immobilised by hate and fear (however well documented), hoping that the bombs won't fall but knowing that before long they probably will, just isn't good enough.

Isn't there some basis for negotiation in the common desire to avoid annihilation? Could not even some trust develop if there were a lot more give and take by peace leaders of the West with those of the East? Nuclear annihilation—partly because of the failure of peace leaders in the West to meet with Russian and Chinese Communists—*this* is a spectre that should haunt Americans and Britons. (*See "At Stockholm," page four.*)

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THIS IS LIFE IMPRISONMENT

—Witch-hunt victim

THE US Supreme Court is to hear arguments this autumn in the case of Dr. Willard Uphaus, an American Fellowship of Reconciliation member, who in 1954 refused to give the Attorney-General of New Hampshire, USA, the list of guests who have spent holidays at the World Fellowship Centre which Uphaus runs near Conway, NH.

The case is the result of an investigation of subversive activities by the State Legislature. Uphaus answered all the questions about himself, but refused on grounds of conscience to turn over the names of others.

He was then tried and convicted of contempt and sentenced to imprisonment until such time as he "purged" himself of contempt by turning over the names.

Uphaus has contended that this is, in effect, a sentence of life imprisonment, since he is adamant in his refusal.

"Many FOR members disagree with Uphaus' views which led him to support the Communist-dominated World Peace Council," reports the American journal, Fellowship, "but this should not deter them from recognising and defending his constitutional liberties."

A member of the American FOR Advisory Council, Dr. Henry Hitt Crane, has recently issued an appeal for funds to pay legal expenses in the case.

Eleven nations at Polish work camp

By DAVID TAYLOR

who has recently returned from a voluntary international work camp in Poland.

"WHY do you smell so strong?" The German girl was amazed. What could the Polish boy mean? Onions? Vinegar?

It soon became clear that he intended to compliment her on her smile, but his pronunciation had gone astray, to the delight of all present. Many other amusing incidents arose as we discussed world problems in French and Polish (the official camp languages) and English, Russian and German.

Krywe is a small village in S-E Poland, about 10 miles from Czechoslovakia and 20 from Russia. Rivers race along the valleys between the high spruce-wooded hills.

This was an area from which the Poles had been driven some years ago by Ukrainian nationalists. Before retreating the Poles burnt most of the houses and crops. Consequently this area is now full of pioneer projects. New chalets are being built, new roads are being constructed to link scattered villages.

Our camp was co-organised by Service Civil International and the Union of Polish Rural Youth. The project was road construction, which meant grading the side of the road, digging drainage trenches, and working at a quarry removing top-soil from rock which was to be used for surfacing.

We came from the following countries:

1 Holland	5 France
1 USA	2 Germany
2 Belgium	2 Czechoslovakia
1 Denmark	11 Poland
2 England	2 Sweden
2 Yugoslavia	

We were able to join in many campfire meetings with the Polish Scouts, and exchanged songs and sketches to form extremely interesting and varied programmes.

On July 26, after three absorbing weeks, we went to stay at Cracow for two nights. Cracow is an old cultural centre, and suffered much less than Warsaw during the war.

AUSCHWITZ

From Cracow we visited the Auschwitz concentration camp, described as "the worst crime in the history of mankind," where four million people were killed, sometimes at the rate of 1,000 per day.

We saw the gas chambers, the crematoria, the human bone fragments in the lake, the toilets which each prisoner was allowed to use for only 15 seconds at a time, the cloth made from human hair. We saw the film of the Russian liberation of the camp.

A visitors' book made us pause. What could one say? What could the young Germans say, the Yugoslav who had lived in the forest, the boys from Warsaw, the Dutch boy who had run about barefoot in Rotterdam during the war?

I wrote "Tommorrow is brand new," but the eyes of each visitor said far more than anything one could write. Our desire to end war for ever blazed up anew. Our fellowship built at the workcamp convinced us that ordinary folk can co-operate, work and laugh together, whatever evils governments have concocted on our behalf in the past. The Polish camp proved that the political frontiers between men are superficial and can be bridged.

Let us hope and work for their eventual abolition.

Westcliff flocks to Campaign exhibition

BY 10 p.m. on Monday, August 4, over 2,000 people had visited the "No Place to Hide" exhibition on the sea front at Westcliff-on-Sea.

The Bank Holiday crowds dropped their holiday spirit for a while whilst they studied the exhibits with interest and concern.

Much sympathy was evident on all sides, and with a collection of £12 at the door, and 60 copies of Peace News and numerous pamphlets sold, the members of Southend Nuclear Disarmament Campaign feel at last that they have fully brought home to the public their own point of view.

"Many discussions have taken place, and we do feel that the pacifict case has been put where formerly it had not been heard —or appreciated," Ken Dockerill told PN.

"Our loud-speaker van plus 'bus and Press advertising have certainly brought the crowds in."

AT HOME AND ABROAD



REPRESENTATIVES of twelve nations singing songs in different languages around a camp fire in the grounds of the High School for Smallholders at Store Restrup, Denmark, was one of the highlights of the recent War Resisters' International Summer School. Incidentally, the Peace Pledge Union Song Book was much appreciated and other sections are going to try their hand at producing similar selections.

Much keen discussion and serious thinking also took place. There was real encouragement in the fact that the conference consisted so largely of young pacifists who are keenly desirous of spreading the pacifist message throughout the world.

The PPU, as the British Section of the WRI, must play an increasing part, and it was good that seven of our younger members were able to be at Store Restrup. Grants totalling £30 were made for that purpose, and in addition to contributions which Groups and individuals make to the work of the WRI, a donation of £100 is provided annually in the PPU budget.

If you do not subscribe to PPU funds but would like to help in spreading pacifism both at home and abroad, you can do so by sending a contribution this week to the PPU Headquarters Fund. You will see from the total below that we are just about one month behind. If anyone has £100 to spare that would bring us up to date.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Amount received to date: £609.
Our aim for the year: £1,200.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

Jersey Parliament to receive PPU protest

"PEACE depends on you," says a leaflet issued by the Jersey (Channel Islands) Peace Pledge Union as part of an anti-war campaign in the island.

The Secretary-Organiser, Albert Gallienne, Junior, of 120 Halkett Place, St. Helier, Jersey, has:

(i) Commenced publication of the "Channel Islands Newsletter." (Available fortnightly from the above address; annual subscription, 8s.)

(ii) Organised (with the assistance of Terence Groizard) door-to-door Peace News selling on Monday, Tuesdays and Wednesdays at 7.0 p.m. and on Thursdays at 6.30 p.m.

(iii) Received a donation of £10 from a supporter, which has been used as a deposit on a duplicating machine.

(iv) Called a special meeting of members and friends of the PPU which sent a resolution condemning British and American intervention in the Middle East to the Bailiff of Jersey, the Prime Minister, and US Ambassador. They have been told that the Bailiff will present these documents to the States (the Jersey Parliament) at their next meeting, which will probably be in September.

Quaker study centre's new programme

PENDLE HILL is an American Quaker Study Centre which has now been in existence for 28 years.

"The dominant themes at Pendle Hill," says the Pendle Hill Bulletin, "are usually on developing non-violent ways to peace, looking for guidance in religious thinking, though not alone by Quaker experience. For the diversity in person's ages, national backgrounds and religious interests offers a programme of thinking varied enough to challenge too much piety, exclusiveness or complacency, from whatever source."

The programme for the coming autumn and winter includes: the Faith and Practice of the Society of Friends, led by Howard Brinton; Primitive Christianity and Post-Pauline Christianity, led by Henry J. Cadbury; Douglas V. Steere on Significant Contemporary Religious Literature; and Some Problems of Modern Society, led by Wilmer J. Young.

C.O. was not sure of his position

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

MICHAEL TARVIN, appearing before the London local Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors recently, was told by that Tribunal, "Your case is full of inconsistencies."

His application for exemption from military service on religious grounds was dismissed. Tarvin, a Roman Catholic from birth, and a regular attender at Mass, told the Tribunal that he was a vegetarian since he had a conscientious objection to the taking of any life. But, he went on, he knew that the Roman Catholic Church upheld the view that there were "just wars."

At this point in the case Tarvin, who had put forward a good, strong argument for Christian pacifism, became very confused.

Asked by the Tribunal whether he would continue with his work as a radio engineer in time of war, he said he would not do so if it meant helping a war effort, but later he said that if he believed another country to be an aggressor his conscience would allow him to continue in his employment, thus giving support against the enemy.

In a letter to the Tribunal regarding Tarvin's position, the Rev. Peter Jones wrote, "I have examined him myself, and found that he is acting from conscientious motives."

Dismissing the case, Sir Gerald Hargreaves, Chairman of the Tribunal, said: "You say that if some country attacked us and you decided that they were the aggressors, you would stay in your job. You would help against the aggressors. This is not being a pacifist.

Conference calls for a

PACIFIST FOREIGN POLICY FOR CANADA

Letter goes to Premier

By Mildred Fahrni

THREE HUNDRED delegates who met in British Columbia for a conference on non-violence sent a resolution to the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Diefenbaker, asking for a Royal Commission "charged with the task of inquiring into ways and means for the feasibility of implementing a pacifist Canadian foreign policy which would serve as an alterative to the present suicidal policy of trying to maintain peace by military force."

The resolution pointed out that no attempt had ever been made by the Government to examine any means of defence other than that of military force, "which threatens to bankrupt our nation and annihilate its population."

The conference, held at the University of British Columbia from June 27-29, brought together delegates from the Western provinces of Canada and represented Quakers, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the Union of Doukhobors. Also present were a group of Molicans from California.

One of the significant values of the conference was the bringing together of people of widely different backgrounds who knew little of each others' non-violent approach.

MILITARY BASES

The realisation that their concerns were shared by many others was a great stimulus and support.

While the conference dwelt largely with international affairs, questions of local concern, especially to the Doukhobor community, were given some consideration, and at the end of the conference the Doukhobor Community passed a resolution urging the Government of British Columbia to release their children who are confined in the New Denver school because of the parents' refusal to allow the children to attend the regular public schools.

The basic Doukhobor problem is how to reconcile liberty and law, government and freedom. How to accept the values of academic education without the disadvantages. Schools are fully controlled by the State and much of the teaching accents materialism and mechanisation. Doukhobors feel they show an indifference to moral and spiritual values. This is the reason they have been rejected by the Sons of Freedom who refuse to let their children attend.

Another resolution passed at the conference condemned the policy of the Canadian Government in allowing "foreign countries to use Canadian soil to establish and maintain military bases which, in the event of a conflict, would automatically embroil this country in a nuclear war."

Among the contributions to the conference was a recorded speech by Professor Dame Kathleen Lonsdale.

"People to People" week

A MEETING was held in the House of Commons recently to launch "People to People Week," which this year is from September 28-October 4.

"People to People Week" is sponsored by the International Friendship League in co-operation with 30 other voluntary organisations. The aim of the week is to give overseas people in Britain a chance to meet ordinary families. To facilitate this, the International Friendship League organises receptions and meetings at which British and overseas people can meet.

It is hoped that at the end of the week overseas people will have had a more intimate glimpse of British life and that British people will be able to play a part in

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ABANDONED SUMMIT

MR. KHRUSHCHOV has achieved certain objectives without his original proposal for "Summit" talks on the Middle East.

His abandonment of this proposal for an urgent consultation by the heads of states is doubtless a result of his meeting with Mao Tse-tung.

Some of the hopes that might have been built on the Summit talks may have to be abandoned, but it is well to take note of Mr. Khrushchov's actual achievements.

Following the revolution in Iraq, brought about, according to United States charges, by "indirect aggression," US troops immediately took possession of the Lebanon, followed by the more modest incursion of British troops into Jordan.

HERE WAS IMMEDIATELY A THREATENING SITUATION OF THE KIND THAT WILL ULTIMATELY PRECIPITATE A NUCLEAR WAR UNLESS BOTH RUSSIA AND THE US (AND AS THINGS STAND, PARTICULARLY THE US) AGREE TO END THE COLD WAR.

The US troops were sent to Lebanon in pursuance of the US "Eisenhower doctrine" with regard to the Middle East, a doctrine that the US has no more a prescriptive right to propound than has Russia to propound a similar "Khrushchov doctrine" for the same area.

★ ★

THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT quite naturally condemned what was happening.

Instead of countering, however, with its own offer of troops to, say, Syria, it said to the Powers: "Let us come together and talk."

This was a much more powerful thing to do than any sabre-rattling. In the face of Mr. Dulles' terrible policies of "brinkmanship," Mr. Khrushchov says "this thing is bad," and follows this not with irresponsible threats or troop movements, but with his proposal that representatives of the Powers should meet to consider what is best to be done.

In this he carries with him not only all the peoples of the Communist countries, but also all the peoples of the uncommitted countries, as well as a great proportion of the peoples of the West.

As soon as that suggestion was made the situation began to change. It was clear that it was what had happened in Iraq, and not what was happening in Lebanon and Jordan, that had brought the US troops into Lebanon and the British troops into Jordan. The US Government may have feared that the successful Iraq revolutionaries might invade Lebanon, but it is equally possible that Lebanon was to be used as a base for action against Iraq in order to counter "indirect aggression."

As for Jordan, King Hussein had already declared that he had taken over the headship of the Arab Union, and he was talking of military action in Iraq in order to quell disorder, a course that would obviously have been dependent upon the co-operation of the British troops.

★ ★

THERE ARE STILL GREAT DANGERS to be confronted in the Middle East.

The dramatic change in the situation, however, brought about by Mr. Khrushchov's proposal, immediately put an end to the dangers we have indicated above.

As the sparring and hedging by the US regarding the framework for the proposed talks went forward, there was a rapid modification of the Western views as to what could be done with the help of the US and British troops.

So far from proceeding to action to "end disorder" in Iraq, King Hussein now declared the Arab Union to be at an end. So far from continuing to ascribe the change in Iraq to "indirect aggression," the US accorded recognition to the new Government.

Two obvious consequences flow from this last fact:

- **Any further talk by Mr. Dulles of "indirect aggression" will raise the question whether there is any more substance in it than there was in the case of Iraq.**
- **The US will clearly be called upon to explain why, if a revolutionary Government in Iraq can be recognised as a stable regime after four days, the revolutionary Government of China cannot be recognised after ten years.**

As we write, the situation in the Middle East comes up for discussion by the UN General Assembly. The proposals submitted by Mr. Hammarskjöld for the Assembly's consideration cover much of the ground that would have had to be dealt with by a "Summit" meeting, and it may be hoped that these can lead to an equal improvement in the situation.

What can be taken for granted, we believe, is that in future there will be a decided soft-pedalling of the "Eisenhower doctrine," and that the conception of "indirect aggression" as something that can be countered by direct military action will receive much closer scrutiny than it has in the past.

MR. K's CHANGE OF MIND

MR. KHRUSHCHOV'S suddenly declared change of mind about a Middle-Eastern Summit meeting would not have caused as much surprise as it did if it had not by this time become a fixed habit of mind to think that anything said by the other side must necessarily be untrue.

When the Iraqi revolution was immediately followed by the American landings in Lebanon and the British landings in Jordan, with the impression created by them intensified by King Hussein's vapourings about taking over the direction of the Jordan-Iraq Federal Union and "liberating" his Iraqi brothers, it was natural for Moscow to think the situation called for an immediate Summit meeting. And when King Hussein's intentions fizzled out, and British and American recognition of the new régime in Iraq followed a little later, it was equally natural that the Kremlin should have second thoughts: the more so since Mr. Khrushchov's first conception of the composition of the projected meeting was subjected to a gradual process of so much alteration that what finally emerged was a proposal for an ordinary Security Council meeting (with a few private asides between himself and the Westerners).

Instead of being a subordinate point at a time of distinct danger, a meeting between Mr. Khrushchov and a Chiang Kai-shek representative would thus become so "official" a feature of what was now to be the main meeting as to be fully on a par with a meeting between the highest dignitaries of the USA and a representative of the Republic of China—which the Americans have shown no signs of willingness to accept.

Also, the West was busy finding as much of a common front as possible, while China, owing to all the delay, had ample time to impress upon Moscow that it did not fancy the rôle of watching the moment's most important event from the outside, with a Formosan representative occupying the council seat it legitimately claims for itself.

It is not difficult to see that this must have proved the turning point in Mr. Khrushchov's policy. It obviously could not matter to him if the world talked for a few days about his inconsistency if thereby he gained the advantage of being able to say that he is now speaking for nearly half of the world's population.

Middle East

IF Sir Alexander Knox Helm is right in the opinion he has formed of the situation in the Middle-East, the problem of preventing that situation from leading before long to the worst possible East versus West complications is far greater and nearer than all those appear to think who have sighed with relief at Mr. Khrushchov's recent loss of urgent interest in a Summit meeting on the issue.

Sir Alexander is an ex-Governor of Sudan and a man of wide experience in Middle-Eastern affairs. Interviewed on the BBC by W. N. Ewer, diplomatic correspondent of the Daily Herald, last Friday in "At Home and Abroad," he began by expressing full approval of the British troop landings in Jordan. That, from a man in his position, was to be expected. But a little later, one of Ewer's questions brought the first shock. Sir Alexander gave it as his belief that, if there were to be an upset of the present régime in Jordan, the Israelis would "advance to the Jordan." Pressed by the questioner whether he thought such an advance would also be undertaken if rebellion in Jordan were purely internal without any element of outside help, Sir Alexander replied "Yes, I do."

At Stockholm

WRITING on the Stockholm Congress on page two, Mr. William Cary, Jnr., remarks that a solid fact to hold on to regarding it is that 74 nations were represented, and that many of the delegates from the majority of these, which are capitalist or colonial or ex-colonial countries, are not Communist and do not follow a Communist line. This is, of course, true; but it is nevertheless not the most important factor in the Congress. The fact of most significance about these meetings—and it is impossible to give a valid assessment of their value without taking account of it—is that no delegate from China, Russia, Bulgaria, Hungary—any of the Communist countries—was able to express a point of view at variance with that of his Government.

The delegates from all the other countries were so able, and most of them who spoke in fact did so. It is true, as our contributor remarks, that some of them risk imprisonment when they go back. They nevertheless felt they had a sufficient degree of political freedom to express themselves, and this they did. Some of them made passionate indictments against the policies of their Governments.

No word of criticism of their Governments' policies came from any of the delegates from China, Russia and the Eastern European countries. Now it is obvious that there are some—delegates, or who could have been delegates—who could have made such criticisms if they had felt free to speak their minds: even if they had felt as free as the African delegates who risk imprisonment when they return home. A delegate could come from Turkey and condemn the policy of the Turkish Government. A delegate could come from the Cameroons and condemn the way in which his country is governed. No delegate could come from Hungary and condemn the Hungarian Government, let alone the action of the Russian Government in imposing it upon the Hungarian people.

Our contributor remarks that "there is some truth" in such considerations, and then brushes the whole matter aside as of trifling consequence. It is not of trifling consequence. It is basic in the consideration of what it is possible to achieve by means of these meetings, and is a fact of much more solid importance than that there were people from 74 countries present.

Western view

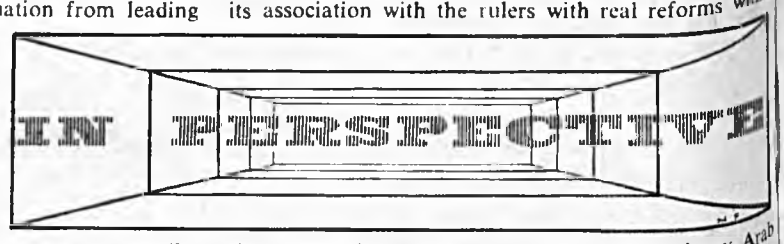
WHETHER you find one side or the other right in any dispute depends largely on the point in time where you begin your examination.

If, leaving out the nineteenth century as too far back in present-day consideration, you begin your study of Middle-Eastern affairs with the early days of World War I, Britain and France, then representing the West, were right in putting an end to Turkish misrule over the Arab states, in creating a Palestine mandate over a part of Arabia intended to form a national home for the Jews, which subsequently led to Israeli sovereignty—although this in turn led to all Arab-Israeli troubles and to the growing Arab hostility against the West. They did not foresee that.

Nor was the West wrong in opening up and using Middle-Eastern oil resources, just then beginning to assume importance; and it was natural, too, that it made its bargains with sultans and sheiks, because they were the only responsible authorities in the areas concerned. You cannot make a treaty with a mob.

But a mob can compare its lot with that of its country's privileged few, can grow to judge its rulers, can awaken to the fact that precious little of its country's one source of wealth is being devoted to its own advancement, that it wants to be free of foreign tutelage.

The West has never been quite blind to this, but in practice it has never solved the difficulty of reconciling its association with the rulers with real reforms within their territories. Yet it is true that the ordinary Arab is better off for what Moscow denounces as imperialistic exploitation. If the West benefits by Arab oil, the Arabs need to sell it; and they would not have grown to their present demand for accelerated progress if there had been no Western tutelage. That is how the situation looks from the West, examined since 1914.



Russian position

BUT if you start your examination a few years later, from the approaching end instead of the early days of World War I, the first picture to strike you is that of the Russian revolution threatened by the West. It is from those days that Moscow's fear dates of an attack on Russia's "soft underbelly." British warships in the Black Sea off Odessa, Western-organised expeditionary forces against the Soviet Republic operating there as well as in the north, Turkey under Kemal Ataturk becoming a modern, efficient (and hostile) neighbouring state. As the mostly desert Middle-East ceased to be unworthy of consideration in world affairs, its rulers became more closely associated with the ever inimical West. Came the Baghdad Pact, the extension of NATO far down into the Mediterranean, the Suez adventure, and, finally, the Lebanon and Jordan landings—all without exception constituting Western attempts at consolidations of their potential anti-Soviet forces. No sooner had Britain vanished from the scene, or half-vanished, than the powerful United States came forward with their Eisenhower Doctrine to maintain the obvious fiction that Russia has no legitimate standing in Middle-Eastern affairs.

Please yourself whether to side with the West or with Russia. The one thing that is certain is that all this amounts to a situation which shows up the uselessness as well as the danger of power politics. For the fundamental facts are all in favour of peace: The Middle-East wants an independence that is no threat to anyone, and it wants to sell its oil, which the West wants and Russia does not. Neither Russia nor the West wants war, of which both have reason to be afraid, and both sides are risking their popularity with India and other uncommitted nations by their obstinate refusal to see the position as it really is.

Fenner Brockway MP writes from Poland

No police state in this Communist country

I AM in a Communist country for the first time. Twenty-five years ago I arranged to visit the citadel of Communism, Soviet Russia, but the plan collapsed ignominiously.

The Russians had serialised a book which I published in England during the 'thirties describing conditions in our depressed areas, and they had informed me that enough thousands of roubles had been deposited in a Moscow bank to enable me to travel soft for three months. I applied for a visa—and it was turned down on the ground that I was politically unreliable! When the war came I donated the roubles to the Russian Red Cross.

There is nothing cynical about my present visit to Poland. I find the occasion of great hope.

The American Friends' Service Committee, the most constructively enterprising religious organisation in the world, has organised in a children's holiday community at Skolimov, 12 miles from Warsaw, an international seminar for students from all the continents. Young men and women are here from India and Japan, from the USA, Canada and Mexico, from Barbados, from Britain, Ireland, France, Western Germany, Italy, Austria, Yugoslavia, from Poland itself. They are spending three weeks here, studying seriously and openmindedly the implications of Liberty, Economic Justice and Peace.

Across the frontiers

The lecturers are Dr. Valentine Lubimova, from the Academy of Science in Moscow, Professor Thierry, a Liberal Professor from Lille University in France, and myself. I have dealt mostly with the subject of Liberty and the State.

Students had also been expected from Egypt, Eastern Germany and Nigeria. No news has been heard of the Egyptians. The Germans and the Nigerian have not succeeded in getting passports. Odd that a Communist country should not facilitate a visit to another Communist country. Not so exceptional that a British colonial should be held up on a journey across the Iron Curtain: it happens regularly with Africans.

This seminar would be of significance in any country. I am confident that a number of these students, including a woman graduate from Madras, will come to hold positions of influence. Three weeks of common study and play (much helped by the participation of members of the Warsaw Opera, the Warsaw Orchestra, and the Warsaw Ballet, who live nearby) will make enduringly for co-operation across the frontiers.

But the fact that this seminar is being held in a Communist country makes it of quite exceptional significance.

New-found freedom

Consider, first, that it has been arranged by an American organisation, a religious organisation. That is sufficiently startling! Communists do not like America and they do not like religion. Consider, second, that two of the three lecturers are libertarians known to be critical of Communist authoritarianism, that most of the students are non-Communists (they are well able to stand up for their views), that at evening sessions they describe in turn the political, economic and cultural pattern of their countries, and that the discussions are absolutely free and outspoken. After this we can no longer say, so far as one Communist country is concerned, that free speech is not permitted.

A week in Poland has shown me that these challenges to dictatorship are not exceptional here. Since Gomulka came to power in October, 1956, an extraordinary freedom of speech has been allowed, and, mixing with workers (both men and women), students, intellectuals and artists alike, one finds that it is fully and fearlessly accepted.

There are exceptions to this liberty. The Press is not permitted to criticise Soviet Russia, and it is generally believed that the explanation of the fantastically long delays in receiving letters to and from other countries is a postal censorship.

There are two striking illustrations of this new-found freedom. The first is the fact that in the elections for the present Parliament voters were given a choice of candidates. It is no longer a matter of saying aye or nay to one name. True, the National Front prepared the list of candidates, but the fact that between 60 and 70 Independents were elected and that some of them criticise the Government vigorously in the debates indicates that the list was drawn up with some tolerance.

Strained compromise

The second liberal feature is the absence of any evidence of a police State. My preliminary realisation of this was at the Consulate in London when I applied for a visa. The printed form of questions was limited to enquiries about nationality, and place, duration and purpose of the visit. I could not help comparing it with the examination I had to pass before visiting America three years ago, when I was asked not only whether I had ever been a Communist, but whether I had ever had recourse to public assistance or had ever been in prison, and at the end of this interrogation my fingerprints were taken (no longer required, I believe).

Confirmation was provided at Warsaw Airport. I have never got through passport and customs controls so easily, and this was the experience of other passengers. And I can swear that the reception lounge was free from the Intelligence Officers who haunt most airports. I sat in the small lounge for an hour and I am fairly experienced now in identifying these objectionable gentlemen!

The third absence of any sign of a police State—the most important—is in the streets, in the restaurants, at meetings, wherever people gather. One thinks in contrast of Cairo, of Nairobi, of Tananarive in Madagascar. I don't think either the American or British Embassies would say that Communist Poland is now a police State.

Nor is the toleration of the religious origin of our seminar exceptional in Poland. Ninety per cent. of the people are Catholics, and the crowded churches, with overflow congregations kneeling on the steps outside, demonstrate the reality of their faith.

This is an extraordinary feature of Poland, both Catholic and Communist. The two beliefs live a somewhat strained compromise. Just before I arrived here the monastery at Catholicism's Mecca, Czestochowa, had been raided, literature seized, mimeograph machines dismantled. But once again compromise has been reached. The Church will be permitted to circulate uncensored literature to the priests but not to the public.

Keeping the balance

The contradictions of Communist Poland are based on its geographical position. To the west, Germany, whom it fears (as one understands in Warsaw, rising bravely from destruction). To the east, Russia, whose domination it resents but upon which it depends. The people have tasted liberty, and they will not easily surrender it. Gomulka seeks carefully to keep the balance, making concessions to Russia, accepting Soviet foreign policy as the price of much freedom at home.

Whether full liberty or renewed repression triumph will depend not only on the people of Poland, but on the fate of liberalising tendencies within Russia itself, on the restraint of the Western Powers—and on world peace.

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FUGITIVES FROM THE BOMB NOT YET EXPLODED

By Alan Lovell

"ON that accursed day, August 6, we set out early in the morning to gather wood on the hillsides . . .

"Then suddenly there was a most terrible flash and the blue sky turned white. We lay flat on the ground and a few seconds later there was a terrible noise, a crash, a roar which made us feel sick. On the mountain top a strange white cloud appeared, the centre of this cloud glowed a fiery red. . . . We waited in the greatest anxiety until my uncle, who had set off on a tricycle for Hiroshima to deliver some machinery, came back badly burnt, his shirt in tatters, on a lorry. He got off and, sitting on the ground, began to weep bitterly. He told us that my mother, my brother, my uncle's sister and my aunt's daughter were all dead."

This is an extract from an essay by a Japanese boy about the dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima. It is one of a number of essays that Mr. Fernand Gigon prints in his book "Formula for Death" (Wingate, 15s.).

By now we are familiar with the sufferings of the immediate victims of the bomb. But what of the other victims, the American airmen who dropped the bomb, the governments who gave the order for the bomb to be dropped, the people in whose name these governments acted? For we are all victims of the bomb. The guilt felt about its dropping has spread even further than the radio-active ash which fell on the Lucky Dragon.

Obeying orders

THE man in charge of the dropping of the Hiroshima bomb was Thomas B. Ferbee, now a lieutenant at Air Command Headquarters, SHAPE. When questioned about the dropping of the bomb he said: "I had a definite job to do. I did it. I had orders to carry out. I carried them out. Do not ask me if I feel guilty. That is a matter which concerns me and me alone and can be of interest to nobody else."

Lieutenant-Colonel Kermit Beaham, who dropped the second bomb on Nagasaki, says: "I have no reason to regret my action. The bomb helped us win the war and spared us from having to invade Japan which would have cost heaven knows how many lives."

For Major Claude R. Eatherly it has not been so easy. He was flying one of the planes which took part in the Hiroshima raid. After the war he began to suffer from nervous depressions. Then his wife sued for divorce. Giving her reasons she said: "I cannot live with Claude . . . he frightens me. He often jumps up in the middle of the night and screams out in an inhuman voice which makes me feel ill: 'Release it, release it!' Then after a moment or two, during which my husband seems to be in hell, he shouts, 'Not now, not now! Think of the children—the children are burning!'"

A little later Major Eatherly was taken into hospital and it was found that he was suffering from extreme nervous depression. He was given a pension of $237 a month. He has never touched the money. He is now in prison having been caught in the act of robbery and having admitted to many petty thefts.

American guilt

The guilt felt by the American people has been expiated in various ways. Mr. and Mrs. Morris, two American citizens, have established a rest home in Hiroshima where victims of the bomb can relax in peaceful surroundings. Mr. Norman Cousins, who is now prominently associated with anti-H-bomb activities in America, arranged for a number of girls disfigured by the Hiroshima bomb to have plastic surgery in America.

The American Government established the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission to study the effects of the bomb. Mr. Gigon accuses the Commission of suppressing embarrassing evidence. He writes: "As one director succeeds another at the head of the ABCC, the Commission's statements become less and less definite, more and more coloured with detail and conditions. There are less absolute affirmations and the conditional tense becomes more and more a favourite." The Japanese feel that the ABCC is using them as guinea pigs in some monstrous experiment.

Japanese victims

BECAUSE of the horrible effects of the bomb, we tend to regard the Japanese as completely innocent victims. Mr. Giron shows how the citizens of Hirochima have to some extent cashed in on their misfortune. Postcards with pictures of the disaster can be bought in several shops, souvenirs from the explosion are on sale, and for a few pennies a man will take off his shirt and show you his torn and clawed back. He proudly calls himself "Atomic Victim Number 1."

The Lesson

However hard we try we can never completely forget about August 6, 1945. We have dropped the A-bomb and we are ready to drop the H-bomb. Until we are prepared not to use the H-bomb we shall be like Enemon Kawaguchi, a Hiroshima engineer. Injured and confused by the blast of the bomb, he headed for the place he knew best, his home in Nagasaki. He arrived just in time to be a victim of the A-bomb that was dropped on Nagasaki.

Mr. Giron writes of Kawaguchi: "He is not a pleasant companion. It is hardly surprising that few people can endure his company for any length of time. And as soon as Kawaguchi becomes conscious of this he packs up and disappears into the darkness. He does not care where he goes. He is fleeing from the third atomic bomb, the one which has not yet exploded, and which in his mind has assumed the form of a monstrosity."

Enemon Kawaguchi's fate symbolises in a terrible way the fate of us all at the present time.

MARCH & DEMONSTRATION

for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament

Sunday, 24th August

2.0 p.m. Meeting at Ely (Palace Green, by Cathedral)
2.30 p.m. March to Missile Bases (Mepal)
5.0 p.m. (app.) Demonstration at Mepal

Speakers: Arthur Skeffington, M.P., John Horner, F.B.U.
and the prospective Labour Candidates for Cambridge, Cambs and Hunts.

JOIN IN THIS MARCH & DEMONSTRATION FOR PEACE

Arranged by the Eastern Region of the Labour Party

CHINA REVISITED



By Muriel Lester

"I AM not coming back to Peking until they open a night club again. . . No, it doesn't matter what you say . . I am leaving tomorrow. I can't stand it as it is. Let me know when things change."

I longed to look round at the speaker. His table was just behind mine in the Foreign Restaurant in Peking. Though the words were English the accent was neither British nor American.

"*When things change.*" . . Are they likely to? Do we want them to? Have we anything to teach the Chinese of today? Anything to learn from them?

Innumerable questions have been put to me since my return, after spending most of last April in China as the guest of Christian leaders there. Many of these were old friends with whom I had often worked in conferences, colleges and churches, on previous leisurely visits to China. They met me at the Border, accompanied me to Canton, Shanghai, Nanking, Peking and down again to Hankow and Canton, thence to the Border where they saw me off on the train to Kowloon with repeated requests for my speedy return.

IN SHANGHAI

During my first week in Shanghai these ministers, bishops, professors, YM and YWCA secretaries met me every day to explain living conditions in the People's China, and the basis of the Christian 3 Self Movement which they have formed. Its title stands for Self-support, Self-organisation and Self-propagation. They will not take a single penny from abroad, so the old jibe that the Christians in China depend on foreigners and their church is therefore an alien institution has died out. They have undertaken two other tasks also, planning and evangelism, with a good deal of success.

Various Christian publishing houses have recently joined together in Shanghai and do much business. Their premises are gay with well-known religious pictures, almanacs and calendars. Their edition of the "Messiah" in Chinese is widely used, the printing of its music is excellent. "Pilgrim's Progress" has just come out in a new edition with the original illustrations. Temple's "Readings in St. John" is selling well.

"We read the Bible much more than we used to do," they told me. "And we pray more too." I noticed their bowed heads and extended periods of silence before each meal, no matter in what jovial company they might be sitting.

TWO CAMPS

In each city I made my own choice of what church to attend, and always found good congregations, poor Sunday schools or none, and fine singing. University students seem to lead the choirs. When they performed the "Messiah" at Christmas it had to be repeated six times, so widespread was the public demand.

My friends let me see that those Christians who will not come to an accommodation with the Government, who continue to speak against it and meet in secret, are given the dread name of "reactionary" and suffer accordingly.

"There are only two camps," explained my host, "the good one and the bad one." We have chosen ours, and we consider that anyone who makes excuses for those in the other camp or anyone who tries to justify them, is tending towards self-righteousness. We are not pacifists. To us, love is a very active thing and it means an active attack on evil. It means eliminating evil for the sake of the people."

A kindly old Lutheran pastor in one city was telling me of a student who had conscientious qualms about becoming a soldier. When he began ridiculing the young man's ideas I interjected, "But our Lord told us to love our enemies." He was quiet for a moment and then turned to me with a smile and began, "Now, this idea of yours about loving our enemies. . . ."

"This idea of *mine*?" I exclaimed, unrighteous indignation raising my voice unduly. The restaurant seemed very silent suddenly and he changed the conversation with unerring poise. He was soon waving me goodbye and asking me to come back. Equanimity is one of the things we have to let the Chinese teach us.

But I had to ask them if compassion was no longer considered a Christian virtue. I found that I was not allowed to call on the widow of an old Chinese friend whose husband had died the previous week. They said they would deliver a letter from me to her, but that was the furthest concession possible for one whose husband supported reactionary ministers who continually spoke secretly against the Government.

TOLERANCE

I felt indignant at first, but later came to realise that all these Christian leaders felt bound to keep to a certain line which they had evidently laid down for themselves after years of strain and stress. They had stood firm in their faith. Nothing could make them give that up. They would die first . . . but to "give and take" fits in with the age-old tolerance of Chinese philosophy.

I think they would consider it foolish and even wrong to throw away one's life if it could be preserved by conforming to certain ordinances and laws, most of which seem to be working well. And how can they or we help rejoicing to find good laws being made *and kept* in a land so ill governed as China has been for generations?

The Communists have evidently come to rely on the stirling qualities of Chinese Christians and some have been given responsible positions in the government. At the beginning of the regime they made Li Teh Chuan (a former YWCA secretary and Marshall Feng's widow) their Minister of Health and President of the Chinese Red Cross. When she was asked by a Japanese Christian if this meant she had given up her faith she said, "Of course I am still a Christian and shall be to my dying day, but I am happy and proud to be able to do so much in improving the health of millions of my fellow countrymen."

Another high government official is Wu Yi-Feng. For many years she was President of the famous Ginling College in Nanking. She has recently been made Vice-Governor of Kiangsu, the large province of which Nanking is the chief city. She has been regarded as one of the stalwarts of Christendom, witness her genius in chairing every session of the ten-day assembly of Christians from all over China who met in Shanghai in 1947 after ten years of separateness due to the Japanese occupation.

(To be continued next week.)

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters

DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE
6, Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1

Awakening on the Campus?

The following article appears in the July-August issue of the American War Resisters' League News. The issue has been edited from the Honolulu city jail where Jim Peck has been serving a sentence of 60 days as one of the members of the crew of the Golden Rule.

DURING the past year there has been a subtle but very important change in the atmosphere in the colleges, universities and high schools.

For the first time since World War II it has become possible to present the pacifist point of view on the campus.

The first signs of a student awakening are beginning to appear.

Student chapters of the Sane Committee against nuclear testing have sprung up. Many who took part in the Walks for Peace commented on the high percentage of young people who were involved in those activities. WRL speakers have reported increasingly favourable student reactions.

REACTION

Perhaps the two most important facts reported by John Ingersoll after his speaking trip to the West Coast for the War Resisters' League, were first, that in general high school and college students have not been told about pacifism, and, second, when they are told about it, they are to a surprising degree, receptive and impressed. Time and again students have reacted by saying in effect "Why hasn't anybody told me about this before?"

The situation is quite different from what it was in the 1930's. Then at least a certain basic familiarity with at least the anti-war point of view could be assumed. But for the present student generation the news that there are people who oppose war and refuse personally to support it comes, more often than not, as a new discovery. There is no background of disillusion with World War Two such as followed World War One. Students of to-day come out of ten years of national prosperity, not out of the depression and the radical discontent of the 1930's. But the present student also knows that the war situation is far worse than it was in the 1930's, with far less margin for error and far worse prospects of dectruction.

What impresses the student today is the kind of concrete personal action exemplified by the Golden Rule and its trip to the bomb test area. This speaks a language that everybody can understand, free from political manipulations and double talk. Somebody has believed enough in something to put their reputations and their lives on the line—and, though the student may not agree, he knows that this is not the usual grabbing for political power or hypocritical left-wing "peace" talk. There is a residue of conscience and idealism in students, however much it may have been overlaid by the mixture of prosperity and fatalism of recent years.

A new student movement against war, conscription and armament today will not have the character of the student activity of the 1930's. Much of the latter was built on air. It was an emotional outburst with few, if any, roots. Nothing will be gained by trying to recreate the unreal atmosphere of the peace activities of the 1930's. A deeper, more Gandhian movement is needed today, built on a sober awareness of the difficulties of the long term task and the even greater urgency of it.

RESPONSIBILITY

The possibility of speaking directly in a language that students understand and taking pacifist ideas (which also have grown and matured in the meantime) to the high schools and colleges confront the WRL and other peace organisations with a major responsibility. New programmes and new methods will have to be worked out. If the long-delayed awakening from the initial paralysis of the atomic age has really begun and at long last students are prepared to ask "What can be done?" it is up to us to be ready with at least some of the answers.

Identity discs will measure radio-activity

From HILDA VON KLENZE

THE German medical weekly "Medizinische Klinik" recently devoted three issues to the problems of atomic energy in peace and war, the dangers of atomic radiation, and possible measures of protection.

The leading article in the third of these special issues is an affirmation of Albert Schweitzer's recent warning of the danger from nuclear weapon tests. It also quotes an article by the French General, Pierre Gallois, in which he says that a dozen thermonuclear rockets would be sufficient "to destroy any possibility of defending the Federal Republic, spread panic everywhere and cause such terror that no government would be prepared to carry on the fight."

In spite of this, the leader continues, the government maintains that protection of the population is possible, and is at this moment manufacturing identity discs with built-in film strips for measuring radiation, as well as the necessary apparatus for the quick mass development of these films.

The last word in the matter of atomic warfare, says "Medizinische Klinik," should not be spoken by the physicist but by the biologist and the doctor. They had experience in the field of the curative as well as the destructive potentialities of radition and were becoming increasingly cautious in its application.

It was to be wished that politicians would follow their example instead of subjecting their judgment to military and political considerations, as had been done by the Federal Government in regard to the erection of atomic reactors in Germany, where the safety of the public had been completely disregarded.

■ ■ ■

Doctors had to act according to the principles of their profession if they were not to betray their humanitarian calling. The increasing demands of the military on the financial resources of the country were becoming a threat to the liberty of research. If science continued to be the Cinderella of the Ministry of Education, there was some danger that research would come to depend on the generals for financial support. Medical radiology needed generous help, peace, time and independence from politics and expediency. Medical science must not become the servant of political conceptions but of truth, humanity and the common good.

Another article in the same issue of "Medizinische Klinik" mentions a suggestion made by the professor of genetics, Dr. Klaus Mampell, that scientists, like medical doctors, should be required to pledge themselves "to use their knowledge exclusively for the benefit of mankind and under no circumstances for activities designed to destroy or in any way damage human life."

■ ■ ■

In an article in "Deutsche Volkszeitung" Frau Hedwig Born, the wife of the well-know physicist and Nobel Prize winner Professor Dr. Max Born, defends the right of the eighteen atomic scientists of Goettingen to state in advance that they would have no hand in the development of nuclear weapons. It has been argued by spokesmen of the West German Government and others that these scientists with no specific political knowledge should not have made such a pronouncement which was bound to have political repercussions.

To this Hedwig Born replies that in a democratic country every citizen has the right and the duty to support public opinion by all democratic means.

"In the atomic age, every living person, whether expert or layman, is in jeopardy from political decisions . . . In such a situation no man or woman is entitled to surrender to hopeless fear, to remain inactive and try to forget.

"Everyone must make up his own mind and stand by his view.

"Humanitarian responsibility is political responsibility, and political responsibility is humanitarian responsibility."

DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:
1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon. a.m.
2. Include: Date, **TOWN, Time, Place** (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Monday, August 11—Monday, August 18

PORTSMOUTH: 241 New Rd. Bookshop for sale of books and literature on nuclear disarmament. CND.

Saturday, August 16—Saturday, August 23

ELFINSWARD, Haywards Heath. Sx. Anglican Pacifist Conference "Arms and the World Today." Local friends welcome at all sessions. APF, 29 Gt James St., London, W.C.1

Wednesday, August 20

LONDON, S.W.4.: 7.30 p.m. 27 Clapham Park Road (Labour Party H.Q.): Ian Jones "The Socialist Party and War," Clapham and District PPU.

Friday, August 22

LONDON, S.W.6: 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m. Fulham Town Hall (opp. Fulham Broadway Underground Station), London Local Tribunal for COs Public admitted.

Monday, August 25

LONDON, S.W.1: 10.30 a.m. and 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge House, Ebury Bridge Road, London Appellate Tribunal for COs Public admitted.

Tuesday, August 26

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m. 36 Coleridge Road, Old Trafford. Group meeting; Manchester Central PPU.

Monday, September 8

BIRMINGHAM: 8 p.m. 221 Vicarage Road, Kings Heath. Meeting of Kings Heath and Cotteridge PPU. All Welcome.

Monday, September 15

SHEFFIELD: 7.45 p.m. 360 Crookesmoor Rd. Stuart Morris on his recent visit to Russia. PPU.

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Every week!

SUNDAYS

LONDON: 3 p.m.; Hyde Park, Speakers' Corner. Pacifist Forum.
LONDON: 3 p.m.; Clapham Common. Christian Pacifist Open-air Meeting. The Brotherhood of the Way.
GLASGOW: 8 p.m.; Queens Pk. Gate, top of Victoria Rd. Open-air Meeting.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air meeting. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON: 7 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.
LONDON, W.C.1: 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

FRIDAYS

BIRMINGHAM: 5 p.m. onwards; Bull St. Meeting House (outside) Peace News selling.

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Fountain of wisdom

I DO NOT BELIEVE that the spiritual law works on a field of its own. On the contrary, it expresses itself only through the ordinary activities of life. It thus affects the economic, the social and the political fields.

—*Gandiji in "Young India," Sept.* 3, 1925.

Gandhi's last two years

HORACE ALEXANDER *reviews*

Mahatma Gandhi: The Last Phase. Vol. II. By Pyarelal. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, India, Housmans, London. 30s.

EVER since the assassination of Gandhi, his former secretary, Pyarelal Nayyar, has been working on a full biography, and now after ten years he has completed the second volume, consisting of a massive account of the last two years (only) of the Mahatma's life. The 900-page volume now under review is the second part of this colossal undertaking.

The first reaction of a western reader may well be that even a Mahatma hardly deserves 900 pages a year. But there is something to be said in extenuation. This history is covering the whole period of the British withdrawal from India. We who are contemporaries can hardly judge of the historic significance of that event; but at least it can be said that it was the first time in all known history that a major imperial power withdrew from a huge imperial dominion through the process of negotiation, instead of waiting to be driven out. Moreover, to some extent at least, this act of withdrawal was the British response to Gandhi's life-long experiments with the way of non-violence in politics. So that a day-to-day account of the negotiations leading to this remarkable event is of some importance for the future student of humane politics, and these day-to-day events need to be put on record while memories are fresh. At the very least, Pyarelal's record will be an essential mine of information for future students.

★

Pyarelal is an immensely careful author. I believe Gandhi himself called his secretary a "perfectionist." He has certainly laboured at this work, revising again and again. And no doubt it has been a labour of love. It may seem ungracious to suggest that it has been too carefully revised; but I have to confess that I do not find it easy reading. Again and again I find myself asking: "Now, just where are we? Have we gone back since the last chapter, or are we further on?" A rather more prosaic chronological sequence, with the appropriate quotations week by week from Gandhi's paper *Harijan*, would have suited this particular reader better.

Moreover, the attention is so riveted on the political developments, and so much background knowledge of Indian personalities is taken for granted that, first, we can sometimes forget that Gandhi was something very much more than a political leader; and many western readers will be wanting a "Who's Who" to refer to all the time, and it is not provided.

★

One other criticism may be ventured. Let me express it by a quotation from a recent pamphlet by Reginald Reynolds. He writes: "I think it was Renan who said something to the effect that when the Devil had tried in vain to destroy the virtue of a great man, as a last resort he sent him disciples." The disciple tends to be indiscriminately in agreement with everything that his Master ever said or did. I confess I find something of this quality in Pyarelal's book. Though I believe Gandhi to have been the greatest man of our age, I do not believe that his political judgments, or even his insights, were by any means infallible. Some of the incidents recorded here leave one perplexed; and in any case I should like them to have been put in the record without the disciple's comment. Let each reader make up his own mind on the evidence.

But, having perhaps said more than was necessary in criticism, now let me make it clear that to my mind this is a book of high importance. Today our world is poised on the brink. Gandhi, more perhaps than any man, has indicated the way to avoid the final plunge; indeed, he has explored the new paths mankind may take, ways of hope and life. Pyarelal is fully alive to these mighty issues. He has boldly inserted a long chapter of his own in which he discusses the way the world is tending, in the light of Gandhi's principles; and he has added an epilogue of similar character.

★

He has also said some courageous things in his brief preface:

"Some of his (Gandhi's) forebodings," he writes, "recorded in these pages have already materialised. The ruinous race for armaments between India and Pakistan; exploitation of Indo-Pak tension by the power blocs; the abortive attempts in our country to go back on the abolition of the salt tax and on prohibition; . . . and last but not least the steady attempt to make India military-minded symbolised by the crowning irony of the official annual ceremony with arms at Rajghat on January 30 (anniversary of his death) to pay homage to the apostle of peace."

Let those who despair of our world study this book. Gandhi's steady persistence in his task, amidst every disappointment and catastrophe, is an inspiring story. His hope created from its own wreck the thing it contemplated.

There are many things to be learnt from living near such a man through 900 pages. One is this: that it is possible to spend a life in politics without falling victim to the craze for political power. Gandhi's refusal to take office in the Government of India after the coming of independence was not a case of shirking the difficult task of day to day administration.

Those who saw him during those weeks can testify that he was sharing the burdens with his friends in the Government—sharing them daily. But he saw that his appointed task was something different and something greater.

★

Can we learn from his life that even for a politician there may fairly be an ambition higher than the attainment of high office?

What Gandhi attained in the last months of his life was a position that no other politician in our age has achieved. Perhaps no other has been fit to achieve it. It involved him in all the burdens of high office, all the pains, but with no outward reward, no reward at all except the reward of a good conscience—yes, and perhaps one should add, the love of ordinary men and women throughout the world.

From the Editor's Notebook

"Distinguished Service"

I HAVE been reading an account of the first presentation of the new award which is being made by the American War Resisters League for "Distinguished Service for Peace."

The recipient was Miss Jeanette Rankin the only American Congresswoman to cast her vote against American participation in both the first and second world wars.

"I want to stand by my country—but I cannot vote for war," she declared in the historic session which ran on into the early hours of Good Friday morning, April 6, 1917.

The scroll, presented to Miss Rankin at a dinner in New York by another veteran of American peace activity, Tracy D. Mygatt, reads:

"To Jeanette Rankin: When others were swept away in the tides of passion, she stood her ground and gave an example of moral courage which has continued to inspire all those who love peace."

Target for that night

ONE of the two main transport centres for the US aircraft going from West Germany to the Middle East on the critical night of July 15-16 was Frankfurt.

The departure of flight after flight of aircraft caused considerable alarm in the city, American families were on the alert to be evacuated from Europe, while the humble German residents suddenly became very conscious that if there were to be retaliation from Russia their city would be one of the first to be bombed.

"I know you have this problem in your country, too," writes a Frankfurt Peace News reader, telling me of the alarm felt in her city.

Suggestion from Malaya

BRUCE BARNITT, on the staff of the Methodist Boys' College, Kuala Lumpur, Malaya, is enthusiastic about distributing Peace News. Extra copies are sent by him to Churchmen in many countries. His latest list includes addresses in the Philippines, New Zealand, Australia and Tennessee, USA.

He would like to see a group of Labour Party pacifists making it their sole job to send copies of the paper to newspaper editors outside Britain. He himself sends to the Malay Mail and Straits Times, and he writes:

"I am sure they are glad to see your articles. They may not always publish them, but may be influenced by them."

If any group wish to undertake this work they can find the addresses of overseas newspapers in Willing's Press Guide, available in most public libraries.

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Thousands may die of cancer every year

— UN REPORT ON RADIATION

NUCLEAR bomb tests may already have caused between 25,000 and 150,000 cases of leukemia. If the bomb tests continue between 5,000 and 60,000 people a year might die from leukemia.

These are some of the conclusions reached by the UN Report on radiation hazards which was published last Sunday.

The committee producing the Report could not decide whether small doses of strontium were in fact harmful and would help to cause leukaemia. It therefore contented itself with reporting possible consequences and did not commit itself about the effects of strontium.

The committee accepts that small doses of radiation are harmful. It estimates that the bomb tests if continued would produce a yearly total of between 500 and 40,000 major genetic defects.

The report also points out that the dangers of strontium contamination are between five and six times greater among populations which get most of their dietary calcium from rice than those who get the calcium from milk.

Tests must stop

The question of the control of tests was outside the committee's terms of reference. The report, however, says that "all steps taken to minimise irradiation will act to the benefit of human health." Alternative drafts of the paragraph in which this statement occurs were submitted by India and the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union's version argued that "there should be an immediate end to test explosions." The Indian version was that "any activity" which increases the amount of radiation in the world "should be avoided."

Here is how some of the British Press reacted:

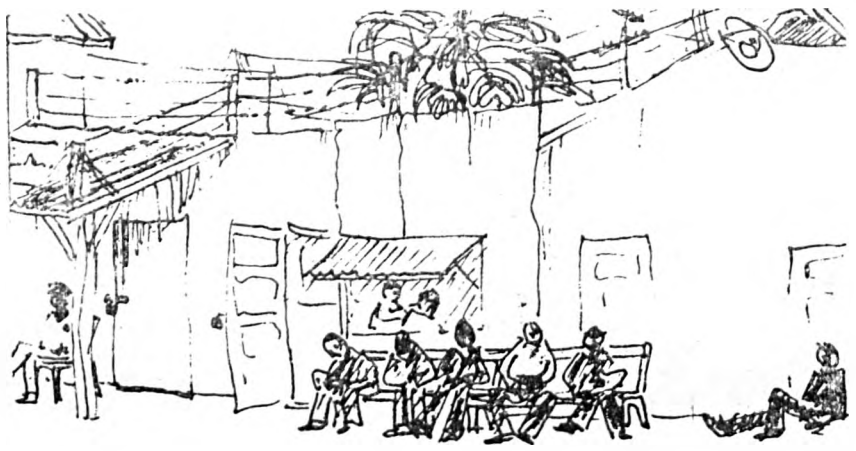
News Chronicle: "Politically the danger to the human race means that the H-tests must be stopped."

The Manchester Guardian: "An agreement on tests is now—as it has been for two years—the most sensible constructive step towards living together in peace which the world could take."

Nicholas Lloyd (Daily Herald): "There is only one possible conclusion that can be reached after reading this report: That H-bomb tests should be stopped now."

The Daily Telegraph: "The appeal, several times repeated in the report, that tests should be stopped as soon as possible, is amply justified."

Prison haircut for H-protest crew



The crew of the Golden Rule seated outside the barber's shop in Honolulu city jail as drawn by Bill Huntington, one of the crew. *Courtesy WRL News.*

ANOTHER POSTER WALK IN LONDON

FOR the fourth week-end since the Middle East crisis pacifists gathered at Dick Sheppard House to walk through London last Saturday afternoon.

Sybil Morrison, who led the procession, handed over her poster to Stuart Morris at Trafalgar Square, and she told a PN reporter that she then watched the parade as it marched round the Square on its way to Piccadilly Circus and Oxford Circus. She was impressed that the ten black on gold posters carrying the pacifist message stood out so boldly against the people, fountains and buildings.

She heard many comments, but few that were hostile; one group of young men raised a cheer and clapped their hands; one woman said: "I agree; good for you."

It was a long walk on a hot and humid afternoon, but those who took part in it made their splendid affirmation, "War—We Say No" for all to see.

Tomorrow (Saturday) Stuart Morris and Sybil Morrison will be at the PPU Summer Conference in Borth. "Keep your eye on the PN Diary for dates of future parades," advised Sybil Morrison.

Quakers urge UN:

AID FOR MIDDLE EAST

A STATEMENT on the Middle East crisis has been sent jointly by American, Canadian and British Quaker Committees to the heads of all the delegations to the UN.

After expressing the hope that the strengthening of the UN Observation Group will allow an early withdrawal of British and American forces, and calling upon all Governments and peoples to support the United Nations and the efforts of the Secretary-General, the statement goes on to outline the conditions of a permanent settlement in this area:

Arab nationalism must be guided into peaceful and constructive channels; basic human needs must be met by determined efforts to raise living standards; the machinery of the UN must be brought into action to formulate a comprehensive plan of social and economic expansion including educational, medical and welfare services, the development of the Nile, Jordan, Tigris and Euphrates river valleys, the improvement of the Suez Canal, and the exploitation of new sources of energy for the benefit of the inhabitants. Efforts must be redoubled to achieve a final solution of the refugee problem.

MILITARY CAN'T HELP

The peoples of the Middle East, say the Quakers, are "entitled to decide their own destiny without interference."

"The age-old struggle of the Great Powers for allies and influence in the Middle East has been aggravated by the intrusion of Cold War politics. . . . We reaffirm our view that the requirements of peace in this region are dependent on meeting basic human needs, and not on military alliances or operations."

The statement, which is signed by the American Friends Service Committee, the Canadian Friends Service Committee and the Friends Peace Committee, London, concludes by calling for the best intellectual and moral leadership that can be provided by the United Nations and by the region itself where three great religions meet.

30,000 Hiroshimas every year

THE United States is producing enough fissionable material each year to make 30,000 to 40,000 Hiroshima-type atom bombs, said Mr. Lester Pearson last week in Ottawa.

The Canadian Opposition leader, speaking in a Parliamentary debate on defence estimates, attributed this information to "a United States official source." East and West now had enough nuclear weapons to end life on this planet "and yet they keep on piling bombs on top of bombs."

Tolerance prevents war — Nehru

"IN spite of us war may come," said Mr. Nehru in New Delhi on August 3. He was inaugurating the third international general assembly of the World Assembly of Youth.

The Indian Prime Minister stressed the need for a spirit of tolerance and the avoidance of an approach based on fear and hatred if humanity was to be saved from the disaster of a third world war.

"You get from a person what you give him. A nation gets from another nation what it gives it," he said. "If it gives good it will get good in return. If it gives hatred it will get hatred in return, perhaps with compound interest. It may be that if you are stronger and the other side very weak, you can compel and coerce. But even so, that sows seeds of discord and hatred which will sprout out some time or other."

By Sybil Morrison

The tradition of war

The deterrent has kept the peace for ten years, and if Mr. C. wants to have it abolished unilaterally, he must be prepared to take his place beside the pacifists and capitulationists of the 1930s whose hands are stained with the blood of Hitler's murderous behaviour. —Letter in The Scotsman, July 23, 1958

THE attempt to put the blame for the tyranny of Hitler on to pacifists, and at the same time to equate pacifism with capitulation to threats has been going on for a long time.

The people who make these accusations seldom trouble to examine the facts, since their only concern is to find a scapegoat: "pacifists," they say, "that's it; these people who don't want to go to war; all their fault; if we had been armed to the teeth instead of practically denuded of arms on account of this pacifism business, Hitler would never have dared . . ."

Roughly, that is how it goes. Let us now examine some facts.

Hitler came to power in 1933. Between that year and the year 1919, when the Treaty of Versailles was signed after the First World War, pacifists, who numbered something less than 100,000 were making every effort, within their limited strength, to show that the division of Europe decided upon in that Treaty would undoubtedly lead eventually to another war, to resist the revengeful and uneconomic demand for impossible reparations from Germany, and to help the German people to achieve a freely elected democratic Government.

It was not pacifists who assisted in the downfall of the Weimar Republic, nor was it pacifists who refused to make any concessions to Streseman's perfectly legitimate plea that the Allies had promised to reduce their armaments when once Germany was disarmed. His heartfelt cry as he left the Council Chamber: "If you could have granted me one concession I might have made of Germany a great peace loving nation," was ignored.

From that moment the situation deteriorated, but the downfall of the German Republic in 1933 was not deplored in this country. On the contrary, when Hitler first came to power in that year, he was supported and acclaimed by leaders in this country. Winston Churchill in his book Great Contemporaries even went so far as to say that if this country had been in the state of economic collapse in which Germany found itself at that time, the people would have welcomed a man like Hitler to lift them out of it. Moreover British manufacturers supplied Germany with arms up to 1939. When Hitler's edict to exile the Jews was brought into force the Government of this country refused to open its ports to succour these unhappy victims of Hitler's persecution. Only if individuals would accept full responsibility for maintenance, and for education in the case of children up to the age of 18, was it possible for Jewish refugees to find sanctuary in this country. Many pacifists did, in fact, accept this responsibility, and make this sacrifice.

That Neville Chamberlain capitulated to threats was due to reliance upon the method of war, not to pacifism, for it is significant that after he returned from bargaining away the freedom of Czechoslovakia at Munich, he urged upon this country a great armaments drive.

This has nothing to do with pacifism since pacifism repudiates reliance upon war and renounces it. Hitler was the direct outcome, not of pacifism, but of war.

As for the deterrent that, it is alleged, has kept the peace for ten years, the Scotsman correspondent seems to have overlooked Korea, Malaya, Algeria, Cyprus, Indonesia, Indo-China, Kenya and Suez; his idea of peace may possibly differ from the inhabitants of these places.

The facts all go to prove that wars beget wars; the first world war did not get rid of wars but, on the contrary, led directly to the second world war, which failed to get rid of totalitarianism.

The third world war may well get rid of the human race, but it will not happen because pacifists refuse to support preparations for it, but because the majority refuse to break away from the tradition of reliance upon a method which has never achieved peace. There is still time for them to think again.

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